2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/14 cont./

• 621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafligná, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [166] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal 621 162 166 in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [768] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [755] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat- [464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Ranhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

/15 cont./

[62] [433] [578] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Perubbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1948 under the leadership of the Nanderú Miguel lived in the village: they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [162] When I knew it in 1948 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
735 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
933 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

184 In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
157 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimmendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
179 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
114 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
177 tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tüdo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

Zs Schaden--19 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
• 621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
[197] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[198] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too,
[197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949).
[178] Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso,
[114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[62] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[433] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato 62 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the [468] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perê), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in [361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paragnay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--22 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

• 621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--23 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy [433] approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into 621 182 563 177 78 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been [437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost [735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

2: Schaden--33 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/30 cont./

563 [821] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráídjá," they say that no yvyráídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

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Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guaraní settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of • 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family
596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re-
178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 178 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 184 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 592 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained 621 either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

2: Schaden--49 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/45 cont./

178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 156 433 The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny [496] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party; see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

Schaden--67 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I [114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, [84] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends 476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of [115] companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Bar'ri. It is necessary to have [182] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the • 621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbyá and Ñandeva) [84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

2: Schaden--68 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/58 cont./

476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [621] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If some- [273] one has enough money to organize a puxirão, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is [182] not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

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476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

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/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbûá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putŷvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organise them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbûá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the putŷvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbûá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

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2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1956) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief -- flanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/79 cont./

178 581 596 586 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [851] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroray," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [691] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

2: Schaden--95 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

612 /80 cont./
621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbyá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound by the community of interests the different units of production and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached), occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental importance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation -- constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its fragmentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayova

/97 cont./

881 825 [582 624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage: whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery: he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. 881 156 The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

/99/

Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest [596] or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-[623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
• 621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name Ñanderú (1)
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787
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1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term Ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbaír. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1946). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Maír, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Maír and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, maír, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

3: Schaden--136 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/110 cont./

personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbüá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [n.76] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
● 621

2: Schaden--158 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sm4 Guarani Sm4

/123 cont./

782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
782 778 formed in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least
[775] among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
[787] Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 787 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that
[776] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
[184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
[424] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
[554] an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva
[184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 796 177 829 [782] [154] refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pika, the piercing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason). Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of infericrity that seizes them before a stranger.

771 177 178 [621] One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new elements in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that families belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 177 159 156 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Nandéva from "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

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/165 cont./

1. The Ñandéva

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It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

[62]
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For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

2: Schaden--225 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/175 cont./

77 177 178 [557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts. [184] One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 177 178 182 [625] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with this, [756] the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is [624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iwa'ý;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Iwajý* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iwa'ý*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Isatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Isatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Isobí*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69]

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization.

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guaraní peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70]

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapoi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans.

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[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

position of *capitão* remained the single definite office of the village as a whole and a point from which power could be directed. But there is also still a tendency for an older man from each of the various kin nuclei to act as informal leader of such a group of relatives. Some of the kin groups now take on the appearance of factions within the village, and under the present system all but one faction must at any given time be officially "out of office." Wagley and Galvão have noted certain aspects of this arrangement among the Cayuá and have compared it to that of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara (Guajajara), and Tupi-Guaraní groups farther to the north in Brazil:

> This kinship system is correlated among the Cayuá, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara with basically similar forms of social organization. All three tribes have now or had extended families headed up by an older man who attracts a group of young men into his group through matrilocal residence. Among the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, an older man of some prestige gathers an extended family group about him by manipulation of the kinship system and by adoption of as many "daughters" as possible.[113]

The present "factions," which are largely the residuum of the aboriginal extended family system, are influential in proportion to their numbers and the prestige of their members and leaders. Their influence also depends, of course, on the extent to which the faction group accepts the assumption of leadership by the faction leader, and this is probably something less than in the past, when the then extended families lived under a single roof. Moreover, some adherents of present factions may have partially departed from the aboriginal principle of extended family kinship in forming their allegiances. Residence apparently determined allegiance aboriginally; that principle seems to have curbed any ambiguities of kin affiliation. But these ambiguities are greater now, without so strong a residence principle, and they may even permit individuals to affiliate somewhat as the spirit moves them. There are persons, for example, who come from outside the village and whose residence may be to a certain extent indeterminate at present. The ultimate adherence of these individuals to one faction or another, nevertheless, swells its numbers.

While it is not known whether any particular number of factions is typical of Cayuá villages, there were at Taquapiri in 1943 only two main factions that were politically active and hence in the foreground. There were about five or six other small kin nuclei whose political affiliation did not seem to be permanently committed. Most of these other nuclei took no prominent part in political maneuvers during our stay, but it is likely that their passive support, at least, was usually counted on by one or the other of the more active groupings.

[113] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 22. The present writer disagrees with these authorities as to the rigidity and permanency implied for matrilocal residence, as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

128 causes are largely to be recognized in the effects to which they are related and
*177 which are their expression and will thus become clear in the discussion of their
182 respective acculturational effects. Other than convenience or chance, there is no special reason for the order in which the various factors have been listed in each class. (We shall include in parentheses, each time we first mention any factor, the numeral-letter key to its location in the chart.)

PRIMARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

*177 II. A. a. "Agriculture becomes more important in the total economy of the
182 Cayuá." Several factors have contributed to this effect, and the relationship
241 is quite plain in most cases between these factors and the trend toward a larger scale agriculture. The guarantee of freedom from attack and from the need of recourse to arms (I. a.) permitted the Cayuá to devote more time to other pursuits and particularly to depend more heavily upon agriculture. A fixed source of food, of course, is a liability when retreat and destruction are in prospect. The modern Cayuá could develop and maintain their *kokué* on a scale which would have been impossible under the necessity of being ready to abandon them hurriedly. No longer did they have to conceal them by making clearings small and inconspicuous in the forest so as to escape hostile notice.

[412] A different influence, but with much the same result, is (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements such as the machete, hoe, and axe which facilitated agriculture technologically. These implements enabled the same amount of work as before to be done better in less time—and probably with a smaller expenditure of total effort. Thus, so to speak, there was, in comparison with the past, a "surplus" of time to be used in other activities or in more extensive
[224] agriculture. Since the most important other activities of men, hunting and
[226] fishing, were concurrently becoming less practicable, or at any rate demanding less time (as we shall see in II. A. b. below), there would obviously be a tendency to turn to the increased agricultural production of food. The heightened efficiency of the agricultural technology in turn made such a prospect less arduous.

*177 The territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their final location upon rela-
182 tively small reservations (I. c.), of course, favored agriculture; it became
241 necessary to curtail economic activities, such as hunting and fishing, that depended upon greater mobility and a wider territory of exploitation. Agriculture
• 621 remained practically the only possible direction in which Cayuá could compensate for their consequent economic losses. In a sense, then, we see here the reverse of the presumably usual relation between sedentarism and intensive agriculture. Generally sedentarism comes about "naturally," one supposes, but in the Cayuá case it was increased and enforced politically from outside. Thus, instead of resulting from intensive agriculture, the fixation of territory tended rather to bring that intensification about.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *change* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

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in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *chaage* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *chaage* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualisation of work, particularly in agriculture, the *chaage* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualisation is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. e.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[180]

II. B. e. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Taquapiri), re location of house near *kokwá*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[181]

[180] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as (II. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analysed.

[181] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *operations*, *sentiments*, and *interactions*. (Homans, 1947, pp. 13 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

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*177 182 594 596 • 62 | The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognised goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *chaco* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasise individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualisation of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adapt the new mode of behavior.

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this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[105]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[105] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

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tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[166] The patrilocal extended family, for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapúi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapúi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapúi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapúi*, they have certainly not made *tapúi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[167]

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[166] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[167] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapúi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

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Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[188]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[188] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

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this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian population, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change. (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in sentiments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

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peoples is open to question. The possibility of such an influence must certainly be kept in mind. As for the Neo-Brasilians, some direct influence against Cayuá polygyny is almost certain, though it has probably been quite limited. It has been limited both because of the ease of concealment from whites by Cayuá of their marital status, and because Neo-Brasilian influence in this respect could only be highly informal under existing conditions and not a matter of concerted action. Our own observations in the field lead to the opinion that the local whites actually have very little correct information of the Cayuá culture. They are to a large extent rather unconcerned about it, except in such matters as the availability of workers for *change* and the suspicion of alleged property depredations by Indians. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider direct white influences as but one more contributing factor in the decline of polygyny, not a cause set apart by its importance.

II. B. f. "Kinship system: presumptive marital rights of mother's brother to sister's daughter (avuncular marriage) disappear." It has already been suggested that the Cayuá kinship system was aboriginally characterized by the avuncular form of marriage reported for the Coastal Tupí, although the former presence of the usage is not directly borne out by modern kinship practices. (See pp. 34–37.) At present, the mother's brother-sister's daughter marriage not only is not presumptive but is widely considered incestuous. Can we account for such a change in terms of acculturational factors and hence indirectly strengthen our contention of the aboriginal existence of this avuncular form? To do so, we will have to understand something of how the preferential marriage operated.[170]

The aboriginal Cayuá village was composed of several, rather independent households, each living in a single large dwelling or *tapiá*. Some sort of cohesive force is indicated as a means of linking the various households and lineages of the local Cayuá community. Marital ties are, of course, a well recognized, universal means of social cohesion; in simple communities they are the most important or even the exclusive means of inter-familial alliance. With patrilocal residence (coupled with temporary matrilocality, probably, in the case of a non-avuncular marriage) a completely feasible way of relating households through kinship was the marriage of the sister's daughter to the mother's brother, as shown in Figure 3. When the mother's brother's presumptive marriage was realized during successive generations, or even if it were somewhat less regularly realized, it served the purpose of closely relating one extended household to the other in the local community. With an extended family and a rule of patrilocality, the presumptive spouses came from different households and different extended families. Moreover, all members of Ego's own generation, cross and parallel cousins, at least of the first degree, were classed as siblings.

[170] In connection with the following hypothesis the writer is very much indebted to Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for discussions in which many of the important points were brought out. Some repetition of previous description unfortunately seems unavoidable here.

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elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.[178] Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

[178] Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*poʔí*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy.

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[159] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localised kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time.

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities.

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[159] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the *sex populi*.

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kin-
ship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

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114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingué:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingué* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[3] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingué clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingué* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[3] For a good description of the Guarani pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 622 621 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 756 695 684 682 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingud* communities that there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 574 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

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843 846 842 775 756 789 851 177 178 551 77 553 851 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva* believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his supernatural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 [273] [412] [239] [273] [195] **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingud* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer, a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death. For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
182 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.